

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 032333

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SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTERS SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975
(SALT TWO-515)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975.

QUOTE:

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 032333

IN ITS STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 6, THE USSR DELEGATION

NOTED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WITH A DURATION UNTIL THE END OF 1985, MUST CONTAIN A COMPLEX OF LIMITATIONS WHICH IN THEIR TOTALITY MUST ENSURE THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT BE IN ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. BY WAY OF CONTINUING TO SET FORTH ITS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DRAFT AGREEMENT UNDER DISCUSSION, THE SOVIET DELEGATION TODAY INTENDS TO ADDRESS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, NAMELY-- LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

IN YOUR STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 4, YOU, MR AMBASSADOR, NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USSR AND THE US SOUGHT FOR MANY YEARS TO ESTABLISH NOT ONLY QUANTITATIVE, BUT ALSO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THIS QUESTION. AS EARLY AS THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET SIDE RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE NEED TO CONSIDER AND RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS AND, IN PARTICULAR, LIMITATIONS ON MRV/MIRVS. IN VIENNA, HELSINKI AND GENEVA THE USSR DELEGATION EMPHASIZED THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MERITS SERIOUS ATTENTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE SUBMITTED APPROPRIATE CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS. AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, THE SIDES WERE UNABLE TO RECONCILE THEIR POSITIONS.

THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THIS QUESTION, WHICH WAS FOUND BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES DURING THE SUMMIT MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MAIN PROVISIONS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985, ATTRACTED WORLDWIDE ATTENTION. IT WAS ESTABLISHED THAT DURING THE TERM OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BOTH SIDES WOULD BE ENTITLED TO HAVE EQUAL AGREED AGGREGATE NUMBERS OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS AGGREGATE NUMBER WOULD NOT EXCEED 1,320

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 032333

UNITS. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THAT NUMBER THE SIDES CAN DETERMINE FOR THEMSELVES THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF MISSILE LAUNCHERS EQUIPPED WITH SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES.

THE SOLUTION THE GOVERNMENTS FOUND TO THE QUESTION OF LIMITING THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES TO EQUAL MAXIMUM LEVELS FOR THE SIDES, NOT TO EXCEED 1,320

UNITS, IS ONE OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT. IT INDICATES MOVEMENT IN THE AREA OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND IS OF SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF ENHANCING THE VIABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT. THE FACT THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED PROVISIONS WILL CONSTITUTE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT UNDOUBTEDLY INCREASES ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN OVERALL POLITICAL TERMS AS WELL. VIEWED IN THE TOTALITY OF THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR, THE NEW AGREEMENT UNDOUBTEDLY WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF EXERCISING RESTRAINT IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND WILL CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING STRATEGIC STABILITY.

ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT UNDER CONSIDERATION EMBODIES THE SOLUTION, AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES, TO THE QUESTION OF LIMITING LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVs. THE DRAFTING OF THE ARTICLE WAS DRAFTED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THIS PROVISION WITH THE OTHER LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND MEETS THE REQUIREMENT OF CLEAR AND PRECISE PRESENTATION.

THE PROVISIONS WRITTEN INTO THE ARTICLE ARE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THE QUESTION OF LIMITING SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES. WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT ALL THIS PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR THE PRACTICAL PROCESS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS ARTICLE.

MR AMBASSADOR,

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS EXAMINED, IN A PRELIMINARY WAY, THE US DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE MEETING OF FEBRUARY 10. WE BELIEVE THAT IT CONTAINS ELEMENTS WHICH MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO GAIN A SOMEWHAT BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF THE US SIDE ON SOME ASPECTS INVOLVED

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 032333

IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. AS FAR AS WE CAN JUDGE, A COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS IS BECOMING APPARENT ON SOME QUESTIONS.

HOWEVER, WITHOUT GOING INTO A DETAILED ANALYSIS AT THIS TIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS UNCLEAR TO US CONCERNING THE POSITION OF THE US SIDE ON THE QUESTIONS YOU ADDRESSED, AND WE ANTICIPATE THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE YOU WILL COVER THEM IN GREATER DETAIL.

MR AMBASSADOR,

WE TOOK NOTE OF THAT PART OF THE US DELEGATION'S STATEMENT WHICH REFERS TO AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING, AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREE-

MENT BEING PREPARED, AND WILL BE COUNTED IN THE OVERALL
AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY SYSTEMS FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS.
AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600
KILOMETERS ARE AN EFFECTIVE DELIVERY SYSTEM FOR STRATEGIC
WEAPONS, REGARDLESS OF TYPE OF TRAJECTORY. THERE ARE,
THEREFORE, NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER FOR DRAWING A
DISTINCTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF AIR TO SURFACE
MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS.
THEREFORE, WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH AIR TO SURFACE
MISSILES OF ANY TYPE WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILO-
METERS, EACH SUCH MISSILE MUST BE COUNTED AS ONE UNIT IN
THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 2,400 UNITS. THE WORKING OF
ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION IS
FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING RECORDED IN THE
AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. UNQUOTE. JOHNSON UNQTE
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